1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
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596 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
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591 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

*565 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
871 than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
*565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
• [582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
875 cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

[Class C Families]

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able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

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Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

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There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

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The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

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There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
463 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
463 Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
464 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
[427] to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
[826]
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[1] In the inventories, [illegible] indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 39 ff.

but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (103–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

[38] Italics ours.

[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-rei, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *morenínha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.